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Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis

John MacQueen
University of Edinburgh

JOHN MACQUEEN

Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis[1]

Richt famous pepill, ye sall undirstand
How that ane prince richt wyiss and vigilent
Is schortly for to cum in to this land,
And purpossis to hald ane parliament.
His Thre Estaitis thairto hes done consent
In Cowper toun in to thair best array,
With support of the Lord omnipotent,
And thairto hes affixt ane certane day.

With help of him that rewlis all abone,
That day salbe within ane litill space.
Our purpose is on the sevint day of June,
Gif weddir serve, and we haif rest and pece,
We sall be sene in till our playing place,
In gude array about the hour of sevin.
Off thriftiness that day I pray you ceiss:
Bot ordane us gude drink aganis allevin.

Fail nocht to be upone the Castell Hill
Besyd the place quhair we purpoiss to play — [2]

Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis is virtually the only extant specimen of an early Scottish stage-play,[3] but the Nuntius of the Banns for the performance at Cupar in Fife on Whit-Tuesday 1552 seems quite unaware that he is playing a unique role. He speaks of "our playing

[1] This paper was read to the Ninth Conference of Scottish Medievalists held in the University of Glasgow on 8th and 9th January, 1966.

[2] D. Hamer, *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,* Scottish Text Society, 4 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1931-36), ii. 10, 1-18. References to the Cupar Banns are to Hamer's edition. For the Charteris text I have primarily used J. Kinsley, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (London, 1954). The Bannatyne version was printed directly from the MS. in W. Tod Ritchie, *The Bannatyne Manuscript,* Scottish Text Society, 4 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1928-33), III, 87-238. See also Anna J. Mill, "Representations of Lyndsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis,*" PMLA, XLVII (1932), 636 ff.

I have transcribed ȝ by *y* and have regularised the use of *u, j, ff,* and capital letters.

[3] The other is *Philotus,* edited by Anna J. Mill in the Scottish Text Society's *Miscellany Volume* (1933), pp. 81-158. The play probably belongs to the 1590s.

place" as if he had performed there before, and suggests that the people of Cupar take a holiday for the performance—again as if that were quite in the normal order of things. The fact too that he is introducing a kind of trailer—a short farce intended to whet the appetite of the locals for the main attraction to be performed a day or two later—suggests a well established tradition; even perhaps that he belonged to a permanent travelling company of the kind which performed the N-town cycle of miracle plays in East Anglia. At the same time the Banns are clearly intended primarily for a Cupar audience, which was to be seated on the north-eastern slopes of the Castle Hill at the east end of the town—within sight, it should be added, of the Mount from which Lindsay's estate took its name. The main authority for the text of the play is the Robert Charteris print of 1602, which purports to be the version performed on the Playfield at the Greenside beneath the Calton Hill in Edinburgh on 12th August, 1554, two years later than the Cupar performance. But, as Hamer pointed out,[4] it is clear that the Edinburgh performance was substantially a repeat of the one given at Cupar. Many incidental references presuppose an audience from north-east Fife, while the stage-directions and indications of place within the play precisely fit the neighbourhood of the Castle Hill in Cupar. The Bonnygate is mentioned in the Bannatyne version. The Lady Burn which flows immediately to the north and east of the Castle Hill seems to have formed the boundary between the spectators who sat on the slopes of the hill, and the actors. The provost and baillies had seats of honour near the water. Actors and audience were in such proximity that remarks directed to the audience were easily possible, and on at least two occasions entrances were made from the spectators' side of the burn. In the Interlude between the two major acts, Wilkin Widdiefow calls to his master, the Pardoner, from the hill; he has found "ane great hors bane," which will serve as a bone of St. Bride's cow, "upon Dame Fleschers midding"—presumably in the town of Cupar itself. In the second act when the herald Diligence invites all who are oppressed to come and complain, Johne the Common-weill thrusts forward through the audience, and tries (unsuccessfully, according to the stage-direction in the Bannatyne manuscript) to leap the burn and so come to the presence of King Correctioun and King Humanitie. The burn plays a significant part in the action on three other occasions. In the first act, the Souter's Wife kilts up her clothes to cross the water and go to the town for wine, but retreats because she is afraid of paddocks and of drowning.

[4] *Op. cit.*, IV, 148.

Later in the same act Dissait, who has become Lord Treasurer, runs away with the King's Box through the water. At the end of the Interlude, Pauper upsets the Pardoner's table and throws his relics into the water.

On the players' side of the burn lay the actual site of performance, the Castle Field (now occupied by a car-park). This is sometimes referred to as the field, once as the green, and once as the bent. Gude Counsell is first seen by King Humanitie when he shows himself in the field (Stage direction at line 927). At the beginning of the Interlude (l. 1931), Diligence tries to drive Pauper from "the feild," where later at l. 2036 Pauper lies down and sleeps. At the end of the Interlude (l. 2290) Diligence drives Pauper and the Pardoner out of the field before he makes his proclamation. King Humanitie first sees the three vices "upon the bent" (l. 835), and in l. 1079 Flattrie announces that Veritie has just "lichtit on the grene." There is no need to assume that the play required the entire Castle Field for its performance; it is clear that one part was fenced off and served as a stage, and that there was a gate by which players entered. The gate is the "bar" or the "dure," beyond which the vices drive Gude-Counsell in Act I (l. 977, compare l. 1632); over which Johne the Common-weill and Pauper stand guard (ll. 2543, 2548); and which serves for the bar at which Veritie and Chastitie make their plea to the king (l. 3102). Beyond the gate in the direction of Cupar and near the burn was the Pavilion or tiring house from which most of the characters make their entrance —most notably the Thrie Estaitis who make their entry at the beginning of the second act "fra the palyeoun gangand backwart led be thair vyces." Probably also outside the gate was the set of three stocks where first Veritie and Chastitie then afterwards Oppressioun, Falset and Dissait were imprisoned, and from which Oppressioun made his escape by persuading Thift to be his substitute. The gallows on which Thift, Dissait and Falset were hanged may also have been outside the gate. Inside the gate, the main property was a scaffold, to be mounted by a ladder. The throne of King Humanitie was on top of the scaffold, and in the Bannatyne MS. after the king had delivered his first speech (l. 101), he passed to the royal seat and sat "with ane grave countenance till Wantones cum." It is from the throne on the scaffold that he presides over the parliament of the Thrie Estaitis in Act II. During the Interlude, Pauper sits in the king's seat, and leaps down when Diligence removes the ladder. Somewhere near the scaffold (perhaps to the rear?) stood the King's Chalmer or Chamber, to which he retires with Lady Sensualitie (l. 533), and from which he emerges at line

808, to lie down among the ladies (l. 1025) and eventually fall into the sleep from which he is wakened by the arrival of Correctioun at l. 1693. Also near the scaffold was the pulpit from which Veritie may have delivered the sermon which seems to accompany her first entrance, from which certainly the Doctour and Foly deliver their sermons, and from which the herald Diligence proclaims the acts of the Parliament. Seats were provided for the principal characters, those of the Thrie Estaitis doubtless close to the royal throne (perhaps directly beneath the scaffold?) while some at least of the others were at a little distance. Gude Counsell, for instance, is described as passing to his seat at l. 2390. In l. 2522 Diligence is sent to summon him to the Parliament. He accepts the summons in ll. 2529-34; then the stage direction *Pausa* appears, to indicate, presumably, that he takes some time to move from his seat to the area directly in front of the king's throne. Sensualitie also had her seat at some distance, as is most clearly shown in Act I when Wantones is dispatched as a messenger to her from the King, and in Act II by the fact that Spiritualitie, Abbot and Person try to take refuge with her when they are exiled from the King's presence. Sensualitie's seat is directly mentioned in the stage direction to l. 2514, "Heir sal the Sergeants chase them away, and they sal gang to the seat of Sensualitie." Veritie's seat is mentioned in the stage direction to l. 1076, and is again clearly at a distance from that of the king or those of the Spiritual Estate.

One other property should be mentioned. Somewhere in the area, not far from the water, was a table, at which, for instance, Solace probably took his drink (l. 189), the Tailor and Souter entertained Lady Chastitie, the Pardoner set out his relics, and the Scribe wrote down the Acts of the Parliament.

The modern student is thus able to reconstruct the setting of the Cupar performance in a detail considerably greater than is possible for most other fifteenth and earlier sixteenth-century plays, partly because Lindsay wrote with a precise eye for a definite stage with a definite set of stage conventions, but partly also because the extant texts have preserved an unusual amount of information in the form of stage-directions.[5] Here the basis for the text is a matter of some

[5] The contrast with *Philotus* is enormous, and helps to explain the difficulty of reconstructing the conditions under which *Philotus* was performed.

Compare also the tantalizing records, probably of the Edinburgh performance of *Ane Satyre,* printed by Anna J. Mill in her *Mediæval Plays in Scotland* (Edinburgh and London, 1927), pp. 181-182. It is curious that Richard Southern in *The Medieval Theatre in the Round* (London, 1957) makes so little use of *Ane Satyre.*

importance. The primary authority, as has been noted, is the quarto printed by Charteris in 1602, but with this must be combined "Sertane mirry Interludis" from the play which were included by Bannatyne in his manuscript anthology written in 1568. There are seven "Interludes," five of which reproduce portions of the text with tolerable completeness: the first consists of the first 601 lines of the play, the second lines 1280-1395, the third lines 1926-2289 (the Charteris Interlude of Pauper and the Pardoner), the fourth lines 4272-4612 (the Foly episode), and the fifth lines 602-927. The most noticeable thing here is the misplacing of Interlude V, on which Bannatyne comments, although he did not think it worth his while to rearrange his material. Bannatyne in general is a mechanical, if careless, copyist, and it is probably fair to assume that the original from which he copied was also in the wrong order. The remaining two interludes are quite different; the first covers lines 928-1473 with omissions; the second 1474-4628 with many omissions. It is noticeable that each of the first five interludes is to some extent capable of standing by itself. This is particularly true of Interludes III and IV, the episodes of Pauper and the Pardoner and of Foly. Interlude I is the beguiling of King Humanitie by Wantones and Lady Sensualitie, together with the isolated first speech of Gude Counsell. Interlude II is the episode of the Tailor and Souter with their wives, plus a few lines of dialogue between Diligence and Chastitie. Interlude V introduces Flatterie, Falset and Dissait to King Humanitie. Notably in Interludes I and V the Bannatyne stage directions are fuller and more frequent than in the corresponding parts of the Charteris text—in the proportion, indeed, of fifteen to three. As each of Charteris' directions is closely paralleled by one of Bannatyne's, it is unlikely that Bannatyne was himself responsible for the directions which appear only in his manuscript; each one, moreover, has a direct relevance to the actual performance of the play. I have already referred to the one which follows King Humanitie's first speech, "Heir sall the King pas to royall sait and sit with ane grave countenance till Wantones cum." The direction which follows the question addressed by the King to Wantones after the song to Venus sung by Sensualitie and her maidens (l. 326) is equally revealing: "Heir sall Wantones ga spy them and cum agane to the king." Notable also is the direction at l. 189, "Heir sall Placebo gif Sollace ane drink"; at l. 416, when Wantones, Solace and Placebo go on their embassy to Sensualitie, "Heir sall thay depairt singand mirrelly"; at l. 525, in the middle of Sensualitie's speech before the king "Heir sall scho mak reverence and say"; at l. 601, "Heir

entirs Flattery new landit owt of France and stormested at the May"; at l. 810, "Heir sall thay drink and the king sall cum furth of his chalmer and call for Wantones"; and at l. 1068, "Heir sall Veritie entir and pass to hir place q^{r} Flattry sall spy hir w^{t} feir." All those directions are closely connected with an actual performance of the play; there can be little doubt that the source, directly or indirectly, must be the producer's prompt copy. This is confirmed by some of the later directions. At Johne the Common-weill's entrance (l. 2430), for instance, Charteris reads "Heir sall Johne loup the stank or els fall in it." Bannatyne is more definite, as a prompt copy would necessarily be: "Heir sall Johine ryn to lowp our the water. And he sall ffall in the middis of it." So later at the hanging of Thift (l. 4015), Charteris reads, "Heir sal Thift be drawin up, or his figour." Bannatyne reads "Heir sall Flattry hang Thift." At the hanging of Falset (l. 4241), Charteris reads, "Heir sal he be heisit up, and not his figure, and ane Craw or ane Ke salbe castin up as it war his saull." Bannatyne reads, "Heir sall Flattry hing him up and a kae sall be castin up as it war his saull."

It looks, in fact, as if the Charteris print were based on Lindsay's manuscript version ("foul papers") of the play as it was given to the 1554 producer, while the Bannatyne selections were based on the actual 1552 prompt copy. This would accord with normal English practice, at least as R. B. McKerrow has reconstructed it. "McKerrow contended that both foul papers and prompt-book (two texts) would be available to the players, so that the natural course for them to take would be to surrender the foul papers when they agreed to publish."[6] Circumstances in Edinburgh at the beginning of the seventeeth century were vastly different from those in London, but in this instance it does look as if by accident or design the same procedure was followed in both places.

Two textual points still require elucidation. If Bannatyne had a complete prompt copy, why did he knowingly misplace Interlude V? If he was himself selecting episodes from the play, why did he misuse the word Interlude to describe the episodes? I suggest that the papers which he had were the first five interludes, together with a complete prompt copy. The play naturally falls into two divisions—the main action, which centres on the Parliament of the Thrie Estaitis, and five subordinate but related comic episodes; Wantones and Sensualitie; Flatterie, Falset and Dissait; the Tailor and Souter; Pauper and the Pardoner; the sermon of Foly. It would be natural for these episodes

[6] E.A.J. Honigmann, *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text* (London, 1965), p. 7.

to be rehearsed separately, with separate prompt-copies issued to the principal players. If Bannatyne had obtained a complete set, his easiest course of action would have been to copy the episodes, then add such parts of the complete play as seemed appropriate—these would form his Interludes VI and VII. Episode III is an Interlude in the proper sense of the word; I suggest that Bannatyne extended this use to cover all the other episodes which he included.

Two performances of *Ane Satyre* have been mentioned. A possible third must be discussed in any complete treatment of the play—that at Linlithgow Palace on the feast of the Epiphany, 1540. No text has survived and no author is named, but a summary "was given to Sir William Eure by a Scotsman of Protestant and English leanings, and was sent by Eure, with a covering letter, to Thomas Cromwell."[7] If the summary is to be trusted, the text used at the performance was only generally similar to the one which has survived. The central incident was the complaint made to the King and the Thrie Estaitis by a Poor Man supported by the doctor, Experience. The King only spoke at the end of the play when he ratified the reforming acts passed by a majority of the Thrie Estaitis. The meagre comic business belonged to the *miles gloriosus* tradition, and was provided by the three courtiers, Placebo, Pikthanke and Flaterye. The Prologue was spoken by Solaice. The entire work is described as an Interlude, which suggests that it was comparatively short. The general inferiority of the Linlithgow to the Cupar version seems evident; only one original speech seems up to Lindsay's usual standard—the remark of the poor man that the king in the play

> was not the King of Scotlande, for ther was an other king in Scotland that hanged John Armestrang with his fellowes, and Sym the larde, and many other moe, which had pacified the countrey, and stanched thifte, but he had lefte one thing undon, which perteynde as well to his charge as thother.[8]

At the same time, several of the remarks quoted are obviously enough based on a text which closely resembled parts of *Ane Satyre* as we have it—and possibly was related in some way to the presentation of Fynlaw of the Fute Band, the *miles gloriosus* of the Cupar Banns.

It is commonly assumed[9] that the Linlithgow interlude was the first version of *Ane Satyre,* afterwards rewritten and expanded for the

[7] Hamer, *op. cit.,* II, 1. The letter and summary occupy pp. 2-6.

[8] Hamer, *op. cit.,* II, 5.

[9] Following the argument advanced by Hamer, *op. cit.,* IV, 127-129.

Cupar and Edinburgh performances, an assumption which would entail that about 1552 Lindsay expanded the part played by the king, and introduced Diligence, Wantones, Sensualitie, Gude Counsell, Veritie, Chastitie, Correctioun, the Tailor and Souter with their wives, the Pardoner, Johne the Common-weill and Foly—almost everything, in fact, which makes the play memorable as a play rather than as a document in the history of the Scottish Reformation. I believe sufficiently in Lindsay's ability as an entertainer and dramatist to find this view difficult to accept, and I suggest that the internal evidence of the play is decisive against it. The present form of the play belongs in its essentials to the thirties, even the twenties, rather than the fifties of the sixteenth century.

It is generally admitted that King Humanitie, is, in the late Agnes Mure Mackenzie's phrase, "a candid but kindly sketch of James V."[10] If this is so, and the generally accepted history of the play is true, Lindsay must have drawn the portrait about ten years after James's death—the king who appeared in the 1540 performance spoke only at the end of the play to ratify the acts of his Parliament. Here is the major, but by no means the only difficulty involved in the standard account. In addition the play contains several references to the youth of King Humanitie:

> I am ane sportour and playfeir
> To that Royall young King

says Solace on his entrance (ll. 176-77).

> I have bene to this day
> *Tanquam tabula rasa*

says the king a few lines later (223-24) to which Placebo replies

> be nocht ane young sanct
> And syne ane auld devill. (ll. 233-234)

Rather later (460ff.), coarse fun is poked at his extreme youth and sexual inexperience. Falset too knows that the vices must take advantage of the king's youth:—

> Bot haist us quhill the King is young,
> Let everie man keip weill ane tongue.
> And in ilk quarter have ane spy,
> Us till adverteis haistelly,
> Quhen ony casualities
> Sall happin into our countries,

[10] Kinsley, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

And let us mak provisioun,
Or he cum to discretioun:
Na mair he waits now nor ane sant,
Quhat thing it is to haif or want.
Or he cum till his perfyte age,
We sall be sikker of our wage. (ll. 994-1005)

These words are actually quoted from Lindsay's *Complaynt* (ll. 199-210), written about 1530, and the presuppositions closely resemble those of the *Dreme,* written in 1528 when James V was fifteen years old.[11] There Jhone the Commoun Weill tells the dreamer

thare sall na Scot have confortyng
Off me, tyll that I see the countre gydit
Be wysedome of ane gude auld prudent kyng,
Quhilk sall delyte hym maist, abone all thyng
To put Justice tyll exicutioun,
And on strang tratouris mak puneisioun.

Als yit to the I say ane uther thyng:
I se, rycht weill, that proverbe is full trew,
Wo to the realme that hes ouir young ane king. (ll. 1003-1011)

The vivid irruption of Jhone the Commoun Weill in the *Dreme,* as in *Ane Satyre,* is a parallel which speaks for itself. The *Complaynt* includes close parallels to the seduction of the King by Wantones and Lady Sensualitie, and to his subsequent redemption. The courtiers seduce the king:—

Quod ane: The Devyll stik me with ane knyfe,
Bot, schir, I knaw ane maid in Fyfe,
Ane of the lusteast wantoun lassis,
Quhare to, schir, be Gods blude scho passis.
Hald thy toung, brother, quod ane other,
I knaw ane fairar, be fyftene futher — (ll. 237-242)

When James is redeemed (after the expulsion of the Douglases),

Justice haldis hir sweird on hie,
With hir ballance of Equitie,
And, in this realme, hes maid sic ordour,
Baith throw the heland and the bordour,
That Oppressioun and all his fallowis
Ar hangit heych apon the gallowis.
Dame Prudence hes the be the heid,
And Temporance dois thy brydill leid.
I se Dame Force mak assistance,
Berand thy Targe of assurance;
And lusty lady Chaistitie
Hes baneist Sensualitie — (ll. 381-392)

[11] Hamer, *op. cit.,* I, 39-53: 3-38. I quote only the most striking parallels.

Foly is fled out of the toun,
Quhilk ay was countrar to Ressoun;
Polyce and Peace begynnis to plant,
That verteous men can no thyng want;
And, as for sleuthfull, Idyll lownis
Sall fetterit be in the Gailyeownis.
Jhone Upeland bene full blyith, I trow,
Because the rysche bus kepis his kow.
Swa is thare nocht, I understand,
Withoute gude ordour in this land,
Except the Spiritualitie — (ll. 401-411)

But not only is King Humanitie young; *Ane Satyre* contains several references to his future marriage.

Sir quhill ye get ane prudent Queine,
I think your Majestie serein
Sould have ane lustie Concubein,

he is told by Solace (ll. 243-45), near the beginning of Act I, and towards the end of the same act Correctioun says to him:

Sen ye ar quyte of Sensualitie,
Resave into your service Gude-counsall:
And richt sa this fair Ladie Chastitie,
Till ye mary sum Queene of blude-royall.
Observe then Chastitie matrimoniall. (ll. 1745-1749)

Correctioun quotes Tarquin's rape of Lucretia as a deterrent example (1761-68). All this has little relevance to the situation in 1540, 1552 or 1554, but is very relevant to the period before James's first marriage in 1537. Again the *Dreme* provides an exact parallel:—

Als I beseik thy Majestie serene,
Frome Lychorie thou keip thy body clene.
Taist never that Intoxicat poysoun.
Frome that unhappy sensuall syn abstene,
Tyll that thou get ane lusty, plesand Quene:
Than tak thy plesour, with my benesoun.
Tak tent, how prydful Tarquyne tynt his croun,
For the deforsyng of Lucres, the schene,
And was depryvit and baneist Romes toun. (ll. 1091-1099)

It is hardly necessary to mention the European significance, and indeed notoriety, of the negotiations for James's marriage in the late twenties and early and middle thirties.[12] One might suggest the possibility too,

[12] W. Croft Dickinson, *Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603* (London and Edinburgh, 1961), pp. 304-310: G. Donaldson, *Scotland. James V — James VII* (Edinburgh and London, 1965), chapters 2 and 4.

that Lady Sensualitie is to some degree a satiric portrait of the king's divorced mistress, Margaret Erskine, Lady Lochleven, by whom he had a son, the future Regent Moray, in 1531, and whom he was still seriously thinking of marrying as late as 1536.[13]

I have already mentioned that some lines from *Ane Satyre* are direct quotation from the *Complaynt*—the scene in one is a fairly straightforward dramatisation of the narrative in the other. In *Ane Satyre,* however, Lindsay omits four lines which occur in the *Complaynt*:

> And, geve the Thesaureir be our friend,
> Than sall we get baith tak and teind.
> Tak he our part, than quha dar wrang us?
> Bot we sall part the pelf amang us. (ll. 195-198)

Hamer notes that the Treasurer was Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, uncle of the Earl of Angus, and adds, "His accounts open on October 15, 1526, and it may have been he who tried to stop the payment of Lindsay's salary. . . . This would explain both the mention of the Treasurer here, through Lindsay's personal antagonism, and the omission of these four lines from *Ane Satyre.*"[14] Hamer's remarks are coloured by his belief that our text of *Ane Satyre* dates from about 1552, but another explanation is possible. The passage in *Ane Satyre* occurs during the "counsall" held by Flattrie, Falset and Dissait in lines 984-1009. In lines 874-76 King Humanitie has already made Falset his Secretary, Dissait his Treasurer and Flattrie his Counsallour. The Vices thus have no need of the Treasurer's friendship—one of them is Treasurer already. Lindsay did not leave the appointments as a passing jest. As soon as the Varlet has announced the imminent arrival of Correctioun, Dissait, obviously in the role of Treasurer, proposes to the Secretary Falset that they steal the King's box. Falset performs the actual theft, but the two quarrel over the division of the spoils, and eventually Dissait wrests the box from his companion and runs away with it through the water (1571). Archibald Douglas, presumably, and the Secretary, Sir Thomas Erskine, are here the butts of Lindsay's wit. Lindsay himself may appear as the herald Diligence, who asks King Humanitie to help him with his expenses:—

> Sir I sall baith in bruch and land,
> With diligence do your command,

[13] E. Bapst, *Les Mariages de Jacques V* (Paris, 1889), especially pp. 279 ff.

[14] Hamer, *op. cit.,* III, 56.

Upon my awin expens:
Sir I have servit yow all this yeir,
Bot I gat never ane dinneir
Yit for my recompence.

REX HUMANITAS

Pas on and thou salbe regairdit,
And for thy service weill rewairdit,
For quhy with my consent,
Thou sall have yeirly for thy hyre,
The teind mussellis of the ferrie myre,
Confirmit in Parliament.

DILIGENCE

I will get riches throw that rent,
Efter the day of Dume:
Quhen in the colpots of Tranent,
Butter will grow on brume. (ll. 1795-1810)

Lindsay, it may well have been, took the part of Diligence in the first performance of the play. But whether or not he did, the satire only has point in terms of Lindsay's relationship to the Douglases before their downfall in 1528. The relevance would have vanished by the mid-thirties.

These resemblances suggest that *Ane Satyre* made use of material which had previously appeared in the *Dreme* and the *Complaynt.* I have not yet mentioned a striking parallel between *Ane Satyre* and the *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* which appeared in 1530.[15] In *Ane Satyre* Chastitie is sent by Diligence to the Priores, who repels her. She proceeds to the Spiritual and Temporal Estates, who also repel her. Finally she approaches the King, who is completely under the domination of Lady Sensualitie, at whose command Chastitie is taken to the stocks, where she makes her complaint:—

I wyte the Empreour Constantine,
That I am put to sic ruine,
And baneist from the Kirk:
For sen he maid the Paip ane King,
In Rome I could get na ludging;
Bot heidlangs in the mirk.
Bot Lady Sensualitie,
Sensyne hes gydit this cuntrie,
And monie of the rest:
And now scho reulis all this land,
And hes decryit at hir command,
That I suld be supprest. (ll. 1450-1461)

[15] Hamer, *op. cit.,* I, 57-90.

In lines 801-919 of the *Testament* the Papyngo tells how Constantine made the donation to Pope Sylvester.[16] Propertie then grew great with child, and bore two daughters, Ryches and Sensualytie, who bewitched the entire Spirituality

> Dame Chaistitie did steill away for schame,
> Fro tyme scho did persave thare proviance.
> Dame Sensuall one letter gart proclame,
> And hir exilit Italy and France:
> In Inglande couthe scho get none ordinance:
> Than to the Kyng and courte of Scotland
> Scho markit hir, withouttin more demande. (ll. 871-877)

In Scotland she is sent to the Spiritual estate. Priest and Bishops suggested that she should go to the Nuns, because they themselves were loyal to Dame Ryches and Sensualytie. But when Chastitie came to the nuns, Propertie, Ryches and Sensualytie at once laid siege to the convent. The sisters surrendered, and Chastitie was forced to take to the road again. She tried to find refuge with the friars, but they would not receive her. Where is she now, asks the Papyngo's interlocutor, the Gled.

> I traist scho bene upon the Borrow mure,
> Besouth Edinburgh, and that rycht mony menis,
> Profest amang the Systeris of the Schenis. (ll. 917-919)

She will remain there so long as the sisters obey Correctioun.

These points seem to establish a performance of *Ane Satyre* probably at some time during the earlier fifteen-thirties.[17] They do not, of course, affect the evidence for performances in 1552 and 1554, nor the possibility of revision for these performances, but they do suggest that the 1552 performance was a revival of a play, which was then some twenty years old. They also suggest that in 1540 only a truncated

[16] The Donation of Constantine is discussed in the *Monarche*, ll. 4403-48 (Hamer, I, 330-331). The *Monarche* belongs to the period 1548-53. The parallels to *Ane Satyre* which it contains are much less specific than those in the earlier works. The fact in itself is significant.

[17] Also important in this context is the reference (ll. 3825-56) to the College of Justice, founded in 1531, and to English translations of the New Testament (l. 1092., etc.). Tyndale's New Testament appeared in 1525. The translation carried by Veritie is said to be "printit in England" (l. 1146), but as Hamer points out (*op. cit.*, IV, 137), this may well be Lindsay's mistake. The New Testament was first printed in England in 1536, but none of the early editions contained any reference to the place of printing. The Reformation visualised by Lindsay is essentially an early Lutheran Reformation of Princes.

version of the original play was produced at Linlithgow. I have already commented on the apparent omissions in the 1540 version; the evidence suggests that the episode of Wantones and Sensualitie, that of Falset, Flattrie and Dissait and that of Dame Chastitie, were in existence by the middle fifteen thirties at latest. It is less certain, but still very probable that Johne the Commoun-weill too had by then made his appearance. I can offer no certain evidence on the Tailor and Souter, the Pauper-Pardoner episode, or the sermon of Foly, but it does seem altogether probable that the play reached what is essentially its present form in the fifteen thirties, and was only altered in minor ways for the 1552 performance. If that is so, it is very likely that the first performance was in Cupar in the immediate neighbourhood of Lindsay's home, the Mount, perhaps on some occasion when James V visited the town.

Lindsay's play is an Aristophanic comedy, which freely satirizes the social, political and ecclesiastical situation of the day in national and local terms, which makes spirited and skillful use of the very flexible resources of an outdoor stage, and which was obviously performed by a company of reasonably professional actors. It is also the only Scottish play of its kind to survive the Reformation. Almost certainly it was not the only play which Lindsay wrote; of this his stage-craft in itself offers sufficient proof, and Henry Charteris in his preface to the 1568 edition of the *Warkis*[18] refers to "his fairsis and publict playis, quhairin he was verray craftie and excellent." Charteris did not include *Ane Satyre* among the *Warkis,* although it is clear from his preface that he knew it well; he probably did not think of plays as literature in the same sense as poems. The preservation of texts of *Ane Satyre* is probably to be explained primarily in terms of the success and notoriety of the attack on the old Church which it contained, while the publication of Robert Charteris' 1602 quarto may have been influenced by the presence of English players at the Blackfriars in Edinburgh from 1599 to 1603,[19] and by the success of English play-quartos. Charteris certainly made some attempt to exploit the London market. Under the circumstances, however, it is not surprising that *Ane Satyre* alone of Lindsay's dramatic works has survived. Miss Mill has shown[20] that even the scanty pre-Reformation burgh records extant contain many references to dramatic performances in late medieval Scotland. Lind-

[18] Hamer, *op. cit.,* I, 398.

[19] Mill, *Mediæval Plays in Scotland,* pp. 300-306.

[20] *Op. cit.,* 113-291.

say's dramatic form indicates something of their possible accomplishment. I have compared Lindsay to Aristophanes in terms of subject-matter. But there is another parallel. Aristophanes is the only author of Old Comedy whose works have survived—the modern scholar is forced to take on credit the dramatic accomplishments of Cratinus, Crates, Eupolis and the rest. In Scotland we do not even have names.

I have shown that the subject-matter of Lindsay's drama is closely linked to that of his poetry. The poetry in turn forms part of a long tradition in late medieval Scottish verse. During the later fifteenth and much of the sixteenth century, satire was almost the dominant literary form in Scotland. Some, like that of Dunbar, was predominantly personal, but much was more general—social, political and ecclesiastical. Holland's *Buke of the Houlat,* for instance, seems to be a parody of events at the Council of Basle.[21] Several of Henryson's *Fabillis* satirize conditions in Scotland during the reign of James III.[22] The *Lion and the Mouse* is directed, not without sympathy, at the king's unsatisfactory relationships with the nobles and the common people. The *Two Mice* deals with the pretensions of the burgesses of the Third Estate; the *Fox and the Wolf* with the improper use and administration of the sacrament of penance; the *Trial of the Fox* with the attempts of the king to establish secular control of the spiritual estate; the *Sheep and the Dog* with the maladministration of justice in the ecclesiastical and civil courts: the *Wolf and the Lamb* with the wrongs suffered by the tenant farmer. Six, that is to say, of the thirteen fables deal directly with the condition of Scotland in the later fifteenth century, and deal with it in a way very similar to that which was later adopted by Lindsay. It is clear that Lindsay used Henryson's poetry as a model for some aspects of his own poetry and drama. I do not know any evidence for a satiric drama of this kind before Lindsay, but even that is not impossible.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

[21] I hope to establish this point in a forthcoming study of the early Renaissance in Scotland.

[22] See my *Robert Henryson. A Study of the Major Narrative Poems,* forthcoming from the Clarendon Press.